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Stanley K. Bigman

Churches in a Changing Culture . . .

David M. Graybeal

The Church of God:

A Study in Social Adaptation Val Clear

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Official Journal of the Religious Research Association

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Consultant: Lauris B. Whitman, President, *Religious Research Association*
 Managing Editor: Margaret Tammen Business Manager: Carolyn Odell
 Circulation Manager: T. R. Frazier

Concerning manuscripts, address: Dr. Lauris B. Whitman, Religious Research Association, P.O. Box 228, Cathedral Station, New York 25 New York.

Concerning book reviews, address: Dr. Robert Lee, Union Theological Seminary, 120th Street and Broadway, New York 27, New York.

Concerning subscriptions, address: Mr. T. R. Frazier, *Religious Research Association*, P.O. Box 228, Cathedral Station, New York 25, New York.

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The guest editor of this issue is Benson Y. Landis, Editor of Research Publications, Bureau of Research and Survey, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

EVALUATING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS

STANLEY K. BIGMAN
Gallaudet College

(Editor's note: This paper is a revised draft of a briefer discussion presented at the meeting of The Religious Research Fellowship in New York, February 14, 1958. It represents in preliminary and summary form the first section of a forthcoming book dealing with evaluation research and its application in a wide range of fields.)

Evaluation, Effectiveness, and the Evaluator

Introduction. "Unless an agency does not take its avowed purposes seriously," wrote Stephan some 20 years ago (in "Training for Research in Social Welfare," *Journal of Educational Sociology*; 1935-1936, p. 285), "it should be interested to know whether past activity actually produced the results that were expected. It will also be concerned to know how reasonable its expectations of future results may be." Since that time, interest has mounted in research designed to gauge the performance of organizations. Numerous studies have been undertaken, variously described as assessment; appraisal; evaluation; measurement of quality, or of outcome, or of movement; or simply applied psychology, or applied social research. These have been conducted in many fields; for example, in education (especially health education), in social work, and in public relations. Evaluation techniques have been employed to test and improve the effectiveness of advertising campaigns, of public information and international propaganda efforts, of mental health programs, and of library and museum activities.

This paper is concerned with such evaluation research: its major phases, some of the special problems arising in program evaluation, and

some of the types of studies that might be made of ongoing activities conducted by religious bodies. I shall touch briefly on the following topics:

1. The meaning of *effectiveness* as used here, the nature and purpose of *evaluation*, and the role of the *evaluator*.
2. The need for specifying the *objectives* of the activity program, including *priority groups* to be influenced and the *means* to be used in reaching them.
3. The need for *linking* program objectives and activities.
4. The distinctions among *preconditions*, *criteria*, and *indicators* of effectiveness.
5. *Unanticipated effects* and their significance.
6. "*Feeding back*" evaluation results into the activity program.
7. The *application* of the above procedures to some kinds of religious activities.

Efficiency or Effectiveness? The operations of a religious body may be rated or judged from a number of viewpoints. Many of these are exemplified by the quotations from denominational spokesmen and documents appearing in Potter's *What Is An Effective City Church?* (a study for the National Council of Churches). Among bases for rating churches suggested are the adequacy of their buildings, the standards of their reports and publicity, possession of a formal structure codified in a constitution and bylaws, the efficiency of their leaders and staffs, and so on (pp. 35-42). So highly rated by our culture is efficiency—the relative economy with which resources are used to yield given results—that its frequent use for rating even religious organizations is not surprising.

I am concerned here, however, with a question which, I submit, is more significant; namely: To what extent are the objectives of the church being realized? In the light of such a question, the issue of efficiency is seen in a different perspective. For example, it might be found upon study that an ill-organized sect with a charismatic leader is vastly more *effective* in attaining its objectives than is a highly-organized, bureaucratically-run, and efficient church. In such a case, one might have to choose between efficiency—which focuses upon means—and effectiveness, which is concerned with the ends of human action.

Nature and Purpose of Evaluation. Evaluating effectiveness must be concerned primarily with objectives, and the extent to which they are reached. It involves measuring the consequences of actions taken in pursuance of objectives, whether the consequences are those which were anticipated or not. Like research in general, evaluation begins with an attempt

to describe existing conditions, to arrive at understanding, and goes on to predict future behavior with the hope of achieving eventual control over it.

Properly conducted, evaluation is a continuous process, a program of interrelated studies moving along with and closely related to the activity program. These studies will vary in their techniques and procedures, focusing now on one activity, now on another. In the evaluation process, research and policy-making meet. While policy and objectives dictate the central interest and the design of the research, the findings of research can, in turn, shape the nature of the program designed to serve program objectives. This interrelation may be seen in the following list of the purposes of an evaluation program (adapted from Glueck, *Evaluation Research in Social Work*, pp. 1-2; and Blenkner, "Obstacles to Evaluation Research in Casework: Part 1," *Social Casework*, 1950, p. 54):

1. To discover whether and how well objectives are being fulfilled.
2. To determine the reasons for specific successes and failures.
3. To uncover the principles underlying a successful program.
4. To direct the course of experiments with techniques for increasing effectiveness.
5. To lay the basis for further research on the reasons for the relative success of alternative techniques.
6. To redefine the means to be used for attaining objectives, and even to redefine subgoals, in the light of research findings.

Role of the Evaluator. As evaluation is a combination of research and policy formulation, the role of the evaluator may be a difficult one. The researcher functioning as evaluator occupies a novel position. Both in the formulating of research plans and in the final stage of feeding research findings into the program, the researcher is necessarily involved in policy issues.

The researcher consequently requires strong support in the agency. He will, as staff member or as an "outsider," need entree to places where data must be secured; he may need access to available documentary materials; he may need cooperation in interviewing or testing subjects. In addition, the researcher may find it desirable in the planning stage to make policy suggestions. For example, when alternative means exist for accomplishing objectives, the researcher may urge the creation of experimental variations in the program to determine their effects.

Though such a role is an unfamiliar one for the researcher, it is one which he may often be able to exercise most usefully. (The foregoing was

adapted from an unpublished paper by Riecken, read at the 1954 annual meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research.)

Specifying Objectives, Priority Target Groups, and Media

Objectives and Their Formulation. The first step in program evaluation is to formulate in clear terms the objectives or purposes of the program. Because objectives are so often confused with what are actually the preconditions to their realization, it is worth considering just what the term "objective" means. Among dictionary definitions and synonyms are: "a goal," "a purpose to be satisfied," "an aim or end of action." Let us note the phrase "end of action"; it indicates that an objective is not just any step in a desired direction, but rather the ultimate purpose of activities.

The ultimate goals of religious organizations, being in the realm of values, are of course not subject to experimental determination; neither can they be discovered by conducting opinion polls. Rather, they are in general theological. However, as a tentative generalization, the objectives of the complex program of a religious body may be expressed in such secular terms as these:

1. To cause people to accept a system of related values and beliefs—an ideology, or creed, or faith.
2. To cause people to adopt certain attitudes toward the divine, however defined, and toward their fellow men—attitudes derived from the ideology or faith.
3. To cause people to engage in certain behavior consonant with those attitudes.

Of course, the relative importance of faith, attitudes, and behavior varies from one religion to the next. Judaism, with its emphasis on obedience to the law, and Roman Catholicism, with its stress on the sacraments, make behavior more important than does Protestantism, which lays greater stress on faith. "Living a Christian life" does not mean quite the same thing to the Lutheran, the Christian Scientist, and the Friend, just as "being a good Jew" is differently defined by Orthodox and Reform Jews. Yet in each case the objectives seem to fall into the same areas of influencing faith, attitudes, or behavior—producing a fundamental change in orientation or "way of life" in the broadest sense.

It is important to recognize the nature of ultimate objectives, so that they may be clearly distinguished from the preconditions of their attainment. It is sometimes suggested, for example, that "preaching the gospel to all

men" is an objective of Christian churches. This would appear, however, to be primarily a *condition* or *means* for obtaining desired ends—namely, that men shall feel and think and act in accord with the preaching.

In short, objectives must be formulated and set down as a preliminary to research. This formulation proceeds on the assumption that religious organization is a means of bringing about changes in people, and that the objectives represent a statement of the kinds of changes which the church hopes to bring about (paraphrase of Tyler, "Evaluation: A Challenge to Progressive Education," *Educational Research Bulletin*, 1935, p. 13). To test their achievement, the objectives must be expressed in rather specific terms. It is not sufficient, for example, to state: "The objective of the church is to make men lead a Christian life." Rather, what constitutes a "Christian life" must be spelled out concretely and in detail.

This task may be complicated by a number of circumstances, of which these are examples:

1. As in business organizations, schools, and other complex structures, so also in religious bodies, objectives are often very broad, implicit, or expressed in clichés or generalities. Under such circumstances, considerable effort may be required to reach a clear statement of objectives.

2. The body may have multiple objectives, some explicit and recognized, others implicit and less apparent. Obviously those of which the group is consciously aware are more readily formulated than those objectives which are only dimly recognized. To the extent that mutually irreconcilable aims exist within a religious body, there may be great difficulty in overcoming resistance to their verbalization.

3. Similarly, different parts of the church may hold dissimilar objectives. So far as this is apparent, there may be a preference for leaving the formulation of goals somewhat vague, rather than arousing conflict. There may be a similar reaction if the process of specifying objectives reveals that staff members "have been working at cross-purposes for years without knowing that they disagreed on basic objectives" (Knutson, "Pretesting: A Positive Approach to Evaluation," *Public Health Report*, 1952, p. 700).

Precisely because such situations may exist, one can hardly overstress the importance of clarifying objectives at the outset. Only when aims are precisely known is it possible to specify the kinds of behavior, attitudes, or ideas which can be viewed as evidence that the program is accomplishing what it was designed to do. Only through this procedure can the evaluator

identify what he is trying to measure, and create appropriate measuring devices.

The discussion to this point has been based on an implicit suggestion that a whole program is to be evaluated in terms of reaching its goal. Frequently, however, it is only one specific activity within a program the effectiveness of which is to be measured; for example, a particular club program, radio sermon, or pamphlet. Such an element in a larger program may, of course, have quite limited objectives; its purpose may be simply to convey specific information, to implant specific ideas, to induce such limited action as donation to a fund, attendance at a meeting, or the like. The effectiveness of such an activity will naturally be evaluated in the light of its special purposes, rather than of the over-all program objectives.

Designation of Priority Target Groups. Although the ultimate objectives of a church may be identical for all segments of the population, the means of approach to various groups may differ. There may also be a feeling that work is more urgently required with some groups than with others. For these and other reasons, formulating objectives also entails some analysis of the whole population in terms of relations to the church, and some decision as to the relative priority of each segment of the population in the program. This is particularly important when considering the use of the media of mass communication; the intended audience, indeed, must be indicated before a newspaper advertisement, radio script, or similar communication can be intelligently prepared.

Of course, the population may be viewed as divided according to any of numerous criteria. Potter, in *What Is An Effective City Church?* (p.34), utilized a division of the population suggested by an earlier publication of the writer's in a different context: the predisposed (or committed); the uncertain; and the antagonistic. (Vide *Are We Hitting the Target?: A Manual of Methods for Evaluating the Effectiveness of the U.S. Information Service Programs*; Washington: U.S. Department of State, 1951.) Many other variables suggest themselves as possibilities; for instance, such familiar social characteristics as age, sex, or educational level; exposure or nonexposure to the church's program; membership, current, former, or never, in church-related groups; frequency of attendance at religious services; or the pattern of use of the various media of communication.

The kinds of distinctions made in public relations programs may be especially suggestive. "In the early days," writes Wulfeck ("Public Relations Research," in *How to Conduct Consumer and Opinion Research*, Blankenship, ed., p. 87), "the public was conceived as all those persons not

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directly related to or identified with the management of a given company." Today, however, separate attention is given to at least six "publics" of a business enterprise:

- Consumers of its products
- Its employees
- Its stockholders
- Its management
- Government
- The general public

Writing for health and welfare agencies, Stein (in *Measuring Your Public Relations*, p. 9) suggests a division of the population in the following nine segments:

- Clients, present or potential
- Contributors, present or potential
- Agency personnel
- Other agencies in the field
- Sources of client referrals (other agencies, etc.)
- Publicity media (press, radio, speakers, etc.)
- Volunteers
- Public officials and civic leaders
- Everyone else

Similarly, a religious body might want to specify as separate targets for its message, to be approached by different means: members of the church, non-members who attend religious services, lay leaders of the church, Sunday school students, teenagers, seminarians, and the like. It is obvious, in this brief list as in those above, that there is a fair degree of overlapping among the categories suggested. Some persons are likely to belong to two or more of the publics so defined. If the messages directed at these publics are consistent with one another, this overlap creates no problem; certain small subsegments of the population are merely exposed to program materials of several types.

Making Media Assignments. However priority target groups may be designated, specification of objectives should include an indication of the means by which each group is to be reached and influenced. This assignment of means, or media, for each target group should be based on various considerations. Principal among these are:

The means in existence or likely to become available. What church-related organizations are there? What are their present activities? How do these fulfill program objectives? What groups can these organizations and their activities be expected to attract? What other organizations might be utilized? Similar questions might be raised about the media of mass communication—press, radio and television, film. The answers to these questions will help determine media assignments.

The known habits and interests of various target groups. Workers may be more likely to be reached by radio and television, professionals through the printed media. Housewives, college students, teenagers—each group, having different patterns of organization participation, of exposure to the mass media, and of interests, may require the assignment of different means of engaging their attention.

Failure to make appropriate assignments may foredoom important activities through inability to reach the desired group. For example, "a radio program may command a tremendous audience and achieve an impressive Hooper-rating" (Kaplan, "Evaluation of Health Education Activities by Opinion Poll Techniques," *American Journal of Public Health*, 1951, p. 32) yet not succeed in addressing a single person not effectively reached by other activities.

The process of formulating objectives in so specific and detailed a fashion has, obviously, an independent value. Those responsible for the program, in verbalizing their intentions, may uncover, among other situations, the following types of problems:

1. Inconsistencies between the *pristine* and well-known objectives and new, changing, and previously unarticulated objectives.
2. Inconsistencies between the objectives of the *central* or headquarters staff and the (perhaps irrelevant) objectives of *field* or *local* staff people.
3. Conflicts between *long-range* objectives or ends and *short-range* means which have become transformed into ends in themselves.
4. Inconsistencies between their newly-stated *objectives* and their *activities*.
5. *Failure to provide activities* for groups viewed as priority targets.

Thus the evaluation process may yield results even before it is fairly under way.

Finding the Link Between Objectives and Activities

The last steps prior to measuring results involve scrutiny of program activities, in order to determine precisely what activities are being carried out, and how these are related to the objectives. To raise such questions is not at all naive. One might think that anyone could describe his program accurately, and that the nature of a program necessarily flows from the purposes of those who conduct it. Sad reality testifies that neither of these is necessarily so.

In a complex organization with an elaborate program, as Riecken has pointed out, "it is not safe to assume that the operations planned by a headquarters staff are being carried out in the field." Here is one example he cites: An advertising agency researcher told him that a food products manufacturer had agreed to conduct an experiment by confining its advertising to a single national magazine for one year, half over by then. A few hours later, buying a pack of cigarettes, Riecken received a package of matches carrying an ad for the manufacturer's products.

The second problem is to identify the elements of the program which are presumed to reflect the objectives. These are the activities which are considered as potentially significant in moving persons exposed to them toward program objectives. Some demonstration is necessary of the relation between activities conducted and the anticipated consequences. Do the activities truly mirror the objectives? Are they merely consistent with each other? Are they irrelevant? Or are they wholly in conflict? Answering these questions may require a preliminary study before evaluation can proceed.

In the case of communications—radio programs, printed materials, motion pictures and the like—the special techniques of content analysis may be applied. These will help to reveal whether the message contained in the communication is what was intended; whether the message is likely to be intelligible and of interest to the anticipated audience; and similar matters. In short, they will help determine whether the *preconditions* for effectiveness, discussed in the following section, are probably being met.

Preconditions, Criteria, and Indicators of Effectiveness

Most of the problems of measurement, involving study design and the gathering and analysis of data, need not occupy us here. Devising appropriate measuring instruments, though not automatic, follows without undue difficulty from clear definition of objectives and of *the criteria of their achievement*. As in the case of the objectives themselves, so with criteria,

there is a tendency to confuse the *preconditions* for effectively influencing people with actual achievement. Let us see how these differ from one another.

Preconditions. By maintaining that only that church is effective which changes the thinking and behavior of its members, we rule out much of what is often cited as evidence or criteria of effectiveness. One may count the column inches of newspaper space, the number of pamphlets distributed, the number of radio talks breathed into the microphone, the number of home visits made, or other instances of activity. (This section is adapted from Bauer and Hull, *Health Education for the Public*, 2nd ed., pp. 277-278.) One may exclaim at the eloquence and lucidity of a sermon or the aesthetic qualities of the "art work" accompanying the text of a printed publication. These may all, indeed, be most noteworthy; but they are not measures of effects or results.

It is unnecessary to labor the point that exposure to a sermon, whether in person or by means of radio or television transmission, offers no guarantee of effectiveness. Who can say with bold assurance what proportion of the Sabbath audience listens with comprehension—or what thoughts pass through their minds as they sit there. One may speculate similarly about each other activity of the religious organization. What is the result, for instance, of distributing free leaflets? What proportion are received by virtual illiterates who cannot understand them? by the already committed? by those otherwise committed, who are merely amused? What proportions are discarded with hardly a glance, or used as scratch paper, or otherwise disposed of in unforeseen ways?

Similar questions may be raised concerning efforts to evaluate the effectiveness of the clergy by rating them for the possession of various qualities presumably related to performance. For example, a study by Allport and Fairbanks, *Evaluation of Present Methods for Selecting Postulants in the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts*, lists various traits, attitudes, and abilities which lay Episcopal leaders hope to find in their rectors. It would be of value to learn whether postulants selected for such characteristics show a record of influencing religious attitudes and behavior which differs significantly from that of priests or ministers not so endowed.

I do not mean to suggest that distribution of communications, attendance at religious services, and so on are irrelevant to the attainment of objectives. On the contrary, these are among the *preconditions* necessary for effectiveness. These preconditions are not merely means to an end; they may best be viewed as subordinate goals, or intermediate goals; without their achievement, program objectives cannot be reached.

Thinking in somewhat more abstract terms, we may note four important preconditions (vide Knutson, p. 701; cf. Flowerman, "Mass Propaganda in the War Against Bigotry," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*; 1947, pp. 434-437; and Cartwright, "Some Principles of Mass Persuasion," *Human Relations*; 1949, pp. 256-257):

1. People must be physically exposed to the program's message, embodied in a verbal communication or in some activity. A sermon must have listeners; a magazine, circulation; a study class, members; a radio program, an audience—otherwise, no matter how well designed, they cannot of course be effective.

2. The attention of those exposed must be attracted and held; otherwise, though present in the flesh, they will not be reached psychologically.

3. They must perceive and understand the point of the message which the communication or activity is intended to convey, even though the perception be "subliminal."

4. They must find in the message something which they can identify as satisfying their wishes or needs, as helping them to achieve their own goals.

A program which meets these conditions may be viewed as potentially effective; but these are not sufficient criteria to determine successful attainment of objectives. Failure to satisfy these conditions means screening out some potential or intended members of the target group. Their inclusion is obviously not in itself a guarantee that they will have been influenced as intended. They may remain "uninformed, misinformed, or with negative attitudes and may take no action" (Knutson, "Evaluating Health Education," *Public Health Reports*; 1952, p. 75).

Moreover, the mere existence of an audience, membership, or circulation does not satisfy the first of these conditions unless there is assurance that the persons attracted are drawn from the intended target groups. For example, a club set up to work with lower-class boys from a slum area, which grows large by drawing in chiefly boys from a contiguous middle-class section, cannot conceivably be viewed as fulfilling its aims.

Criteria of Effectiveness. In the final analysis, the only valid criterion for measuring effectiveness is concrete evidence that an objective is being achieved as a consequence of intentional activity by the church or its agencies. The key question to be answered becomes: "Has this activity made the exposed person behave in the desired fashion, and *as he otherwise would not have done?*" The criteria required must be drawn from the philosophy and objectives of the particular religious body. Such criteria

are the translation of the objectives into such a form that it is possible to test their achievement. A statement by a minister, quoted in Potter's study, contains one set of such criteria:

We would like to produce the kind of Christian who practices Christianity in factory or office, in the street and at home. We would like to produce young people who could be trusted in any position, who would find their satisfaction and joy in life in service, not in power or glory [p. 90].

These are specifications for change which could be recognized as evidence that effective work had been performed. It would, of course, also be necessary to demonstrate that change had been brought about by exposure to the church's teachings, rather than by some other factor or factors acting concurrently.

Though change is important in itself, so is the relative *permanence* of change. The problem of temporary change and "backsliding" is of course an old one. It is at the heart of the controversy over the relative value of the work of Billy Graham, for example, and of similar evangelists in general. This problem is not peculiarly one of religious bodies. Rather, it rises to plague program administrators in all fields, and we may therefore draw an example from research in another area. About five years ago a project was conducted at Berkeley, California, utilizing a group approach to weight reduction. Though the method was effective in reducing weight while the group was maintained, there was a tendency for many participants to regain their lost weight in the succeeding year (vide Simmons, Suczek, and Walsh, "The Group Approach to Weight Reduction: The Herrick Memorial Hospital Project," *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*; 1954, pp. 437-449). Does such "backsliding" mean that the program was ineffective? Or was it effective nonetheless? The answer to such a question must be considered and decided in any individual evaluation study.

Indicators of Effectiveness. It is not the criteria themselves which are tested or measured, but their equivalents in terms of observable behavior. Such behavioral indicators of effectiveness are exemplified in various quotations from statements gathered in Potter's study. For example, an appropriate criterion of effectiveness is suggested; namely, whether members of a church have been taught to "love their neighbors." Whether this criterion has been met, says Potter, cannot be determined directly, but possession of information about one's neighbor might be used as an indicator (p. 66).

Another indicator suggested is "financial support of the church," which one administrator calls "the key to the measurement of spirituality" (p.

90). This may be refined somewhat by establishing for each respondent the level of giving that would involve personal sacrifice, and defining contribution of money beyond that point as a suitable indicator. An official of the National Council of Churches offers additional indicators in his definition of "a good Christian" as a person who "prays daily and reads the Bible, worships weekly . . . and tells others of Christ" (p. 91).

Whatever the indicators tentatively selected—and they will tend to vary with the individual study—their logical and psychological nexus with program objectives and the criteria of their achievement must be demonstrated. This nexus cannot be just assumed. For example, Flowerman has reported on an experimental study of the effectiveness of four pieces of anti-prejudice propaganda, which were mailed to veterans. It had been conjectured that retention of the propaganda items would be indicative of lack of prejudice. Instead, the study revealed:

The "tolerant" interviewees more often destroyed the material; they accepted the messages, but saw no value in them. The "intolerant" more often kept the material to show to like-minded acquaintances to illustrate their reasons for being prejudiced [p. 437].

One might ask whether there is any firmer basis for assuming that financial contributions to a religious body represent "spirituality." May they not as readily spring from feelings of guilt concerning the size or source of one's earnings? or from the same motivations as those of Kwakiutl Indians vying with one another in a potlatch?

Unanticipated Effects: Boomerangs, Windfalls, and Others

Since the central concern of evaluation is with the effects produced by a program, it is important to consider, although briefly, some of the kinds of effects that may be discovered. In particular, let us examine the kinds of unanticipated consequences which may flow from a religious program, in addition to or even instead of those which are intended. Factors in the situation overlooked at the outset may have been affected as much as or more than those it was hoped to influence. These unexpected results are, like the side effects of drugs, often more significant than the anticipated effects. To some extent such side effects may be foreseen through pretesting parts of the program; and what can be predicted can often be controlled. What is unanticipated, however, may very well occur but go unseen.

We may classify these unanticipated consequences as being, from the viewpoint of the church or synagogue:

Boomerangs, or undesirable effects
 Windfalls, or desirable effects
 Effects of neutral or doubtful character

Boomerangs. That program activities frequently boomerang is made abundantly clear by a good deal of research, especially in the field of communications. Here are three examples:

1. . . . At the Museum of Natural History in New York there is an exhibit which aims to show the value of inoculation against typhoid fever. The model represents soldiers in the Spanish-American War, which occurred before soldiers were inoculated. It shows that, out of every 100 soldiers, 14 were afflicted with typhoid for every one injured by gunfire. The reaction of an intelligent man who saw this exhibit recently was, "What safe wars they used to have." [Calver, "The Exhibit Medium," *American Journal of Public Health*, 1939, p. 345]

2. [A film, "Hurricane Circuit," had been shown to peasants in Pakistan.] The picture emphasizes two main points: the value of advance warning of disaster made possible by scientific knowledge, and the importance of cooperation—what people can do to help themselves. . . . A twenty-five year-old landlord, . . . asked what he had seen, replied: "I saw a sphere moving in the sea, . . . and that created a storm. The storm can be controlled only by God. Government and kings cannot. . . . Man can only escape via airplanes and such. If God does not want to let a man escape, he can prevent it. Man should face things boldly and not try to run away." [Honizmann, *Information for Pakistan*, pp. 48-49]

3. A talk on X-rays was recently broadcast under the auspices of a medical society, as a part of a campaign seeking to promote "proper" use of health services by members of the community. The speaker, a noted radiologist, attempted to dissuade his listeners from turning to unlicensed practioners (quacks) for X-ray examinations and treatments. In an effort to make his persuasion effective, he repeatedly stressed "the dangers in the use of and in the making of X-ray examinations." The radiologist's good intentions elicited unexpected anxieties. Some members of the audience—who, in any case, would not have consulted quacks—expressed their newly-acquired fears:

It left people not wanting X-rays. It sounded so dangerous. The doctor uses lead and wears gloves. People wouldn't even want to get an X-ray after that. They'd be scared away.

I would feel that maybe it would hurt. From hearing about currents and so on I would think that it would be at least unpleasant. [Lazarsfeld and Merton, "Studies in Radio and Film Propaganda," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Science*, 1943, p. 61]

In short, in each instance some of the persons exposed to a message were led to a conclusion which would have grieved the author of the message. The identification of such boomerangs is obviously one of the very important functions performed by evaluation.

Windfalls. By the term "windfall" I mean to describe the pleasant surprises, the results never planned for nor even expected, but gratefully received. These are the cases in which the administrator preens himself, looks wise, and takes credit for what he did not seek to accomplish. As Knutson has pointed out quite cogently (in "Evaluating Health Education," *Public Health Reports*; 1952, p. 74):

. . . Such materials or programs should not be considered successful unless the intended objectives are also achieved. It matters not if the action caused is even more desirable than the action hoped for. To interpret as indications of success evidence of behavior changes other than those intended is to set up *post hoc* objectives.

The reason for divorcing such results from evidences of effectiveness in terms of originally stated objectives is not far to seek. A basic purpose of evaluation is to permit the formulation of tested principles for successful program building. This means that an attempt must be made to use a specific technique and learn what it can accomplish, so that it may be used subsequently with some anticipation of its results. Obviously this cannot be done unless one carefully distinguishes satisfied intentions from happy byproducts.

Irrelevant Effects and Incidental Functions. Unintended effects which neither advance nor impede the attainment of objectives are also quite frequent. Sometimes, when objectives are ill-defined and hazy, these effects are looked upon as evidence of success. Let us note two types of such effects.

The first of these we might call "arousing the opposition's leaders." Numerous examples could be drawn from the field of public affairs; to avoid accusations of partisanship, I shall present an example drawn from the affairs of "Ruritania." The Presiding Elder of the Universal True Church, a minor sect, preached a sermon on the radio one Sunday morning, calling upon the people to renounce the established Old Orthodox Church, and join his congregations. On the following Sunday morning a pastoral letter was read from the pulpits of all Old Orthodox churches, denouncing the heretical Universal True Church and threatening with eternal damnation all those who might heed its appeal. "Aha!" chuckled the U.T. Church leadership. "We're obviously making tremendous inroads among their members; that's why they've hit back at us so hard." Since, however, the membership of the U.T. Church showed no increase, this conclusion is questionable. While such opposition-baiting can be fun, the results cannot be seized upon as evidence of effectiveness. Of course, this and the following incident are wholly fictitious. If, however, they bear some resemblance to actual events, that is hardly surprising since life so often mirrors fiction.

The other kind of effect might be called "the do-good effect." Again, to avoid the appearance of pointing the finger of scorn at any particular denomination, I draw upon the public affairs of "Ruritania" for an example. The Ruritanian government maintains an active information service in the neighboring backward state of "Graustark." A patron of the Ruritanian library in Graustark writes in a grateful letter: "I am never puzzled with problems in handling my flock of sheep; whenever I have trouble, I find the answer in one of your books." Viewers of a Ruritanian film about water and sanitation were so impressed with the importance of proper latrines placed where they will not contaminate the water supply that they spent the following day digging appropriate latrines. But a Ruritanian information officer, reviewing his program in Graustark, was moved to comment: "The showing of general health films and the emphasis on visual education are certainly worthwhile ends in themselves, in view of the needs of the country. But as a means of reaching our objectives in the area of opinion making and changing, they appear to be both doubtful and circuitous." Does such comment apply as readily to some of the activities of some religious bodies?

This question may seem especially apropos when one examines the *functions served* by various presumably religious activities. When we find

that for some people, church membership, attendance and participation have a purely social function—for example, that young

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people are attracted primarily by a desire to meet their peers, dance, play ping-pong, and the like;

that many people choose a church or synagogue as they choose a brand of automobile—for its conferral of status, or as a means of upward social mobility;

that some of the ancillary activities of a church may be transformed from means to an end to ends in themselves,

then it may be particularly appropriate to ask whether, *in addition* to its incidental achievements, the organization is attaining its objectives.

Effects upon Whom? The persons exposed to the program, or to any one of its activities, are never so uniform that all will respond alike. Therefore the effects referred to above will not, of course, be observed through the whole exposed group. Some may be influenced as intended, others in unexpected fashions. Such considerations are a reminder that, in this brief review of some kinds of unanticipated effects, a few words should be said about the persons reached by the program.

In the first place, the *number of persons* may be so small as to render the program relatively ineffective. Here we must distinguish between effectiveness and *impact*. By the latter term I mean the strength of the influence upon exposed individuals. A program or activity may have considerable impact, affecting markedly the thoughts and actions of those it touches; it will be necessarily judged ineffective if it is so designed that this impact is confined to a small fraction of the group it is intended to reach and influence.

Secondly, there is the possibility of reaching unintended "target groups," instead of or in addition to the designated one. For example, the program may utilize such channels as to reach chiefly those already being touched through other activities. A radio program designed to influence those not otherwise affected by the church may draw an audience consisting chiefly of frequent church-goers. At best, the effect may be to bolster the convictions of the already-convinced: and the importance of this surely should not be minimized. At worst, the effect may be to cut down attendance at services, with some occasional church-goers switching to the radio audience.

Another instance of a similar unintended result was referred to above. It was suggested that a club designed to attract lower-class boys might in-

stead draw in boys from middle-class homes. In both that case, and that of the radio broadcasts, one would have to conclude that, however gratifying the results, the activities were not accomplishing their purposes.

"Feeding Back" Evaluation Results into Activities

With the research data gathered, evaluation involves the weighing of the various kinds of effects determined to have occurred. Relative success in reaching predesignated objectives must be considered, windfalls added, and boomerangs subtracted. Groups successfully influenced and those resisting the program must be considered; reasons for successes and failures must be analyzed.

As I indicated above, however, this is only one phase of an on-going process. The next phase is the application of the knowledge acquired to the program and its activities. The research report is designed not for academic archives but for the improvement of the program of the church. The evaluator is concerned at this point with the *interpretation* of the research findings, teasing out their implications for action. He is likewise concerned with the appropriate *evaluation* of the findings, stressing their level of importance so that neither will they be ignored nor their significance exaggerated; emphasizing their limitations; ensuring that unpleasant or negative findings will not be glossed over.

At this point, as in the planning stage, the evaluator will often function as something other than a "detached" scientist. Often he will be expected to, or will want to, translate the findings of research into recommendations for action, taking into account the realistic limitations imposed by the church's resources and policies. Research and policy, as in the planning stage, come close here, and the evaluator must be able to interpret his findings directly to those who make the operating decisions. The requisite cooperation between the evaluator and the administrators may be possible whether the evaluator is an "inside" staff member or an "outside" independent investigator. In either case there are certain advantages and disadvantages.

With an "inside" evaluator, resistance to research by the church's administrative staff may be minimized. The evaluator is necessarily sympathetic to the church, not a disinterested and potentially hostile stranger. On the other hand, the insider finds it harder to maintain objectivity and independence of judgment, precisely because of his identification with the church's program. While the insider may be the target of informal social pressure from colleagues in the administration who want their activities

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endorsed, the outsider may have greater freedom of movement within the church. The outsider, moreover, may achieve the peculiar intimacy often occurring between strangers, in which he may be able to function more effectively than the staff evaluator.

Again, an inside evaluator need not lose valuable time getting acquainted with the substantive details of the church's program and objectives, or learning his way around in the church organization. However, the time spent by the outsider in getting acquainted is not necessarily wasted. His exploration often produces profitable research ideas; his fresh viewpoint may observe things about the church's activities of which its administration are unaware, or conceive alternatives which would not occur to those immersed in the program.

Finally, since the inside evaluator can remain attached to the church, he may be able more readily to help interpret the research findings and insure their implementation. The outsider, however, also has a compensating advantage. The fact that he is not identified with any faction or interest group in the church—that he ordinarily has no “ax to grind”—may make the administrative staff more willing to accept his recommendations. (The foregoing section is largely based on the paper by Riecken, referred to above.)

Some Examples of Studies in an Evaluation Program

Thus far evaluation has been discussed in relatively general terms, and its relation to religion and the church less described than implied. In this final section some relatively specific description of types of studies which might be conducted will be offered.

As noted earlier, evaluation ideally refers to a program of research which parallels the church's program of activities. Since the total program of activities carried on by a religious body is so complex, it must be evaluated by means of a series of interlocking studies, each dealing with a separate phase of the interrelated activities. On the other hand, evaluation studies are often “one-time” affairs, with at best two series of observations, one before and one after exposure to some activity, on the same group of persons. The studies suggested below, it will be seen, would have maximum value as related parts of a whole; but each is capable in its own right of supplying valuable information for purposes of evaluation.

“Base Line” Study. The first study in an evaluation program is likely to be rather broad and unfocused—a descriptive rather than an analytic

study. When research bearing on a denomination's membership is conducted, it is usually of this kind. Such a study provides, as a rule, considerable useful data about a relatively wide segment of the population. In addition it serves three important purposes:

1. It provides a measure of the discrepancy between the actual and the desired state of affairs with respect to levels of information, attitudes, sentiments, values, beliefs, and behavior. It therefore has implications for program planning, suggesting the kind of program content required to produce desired changes.

2. By revealing the discrepancy between the actual and the ideal, this type of study will suggest subgoals for achievement by the activity program, and criteria to test the effectiveness of the program.

3. It offers a base line against which the direction and extent of future change may be measured. Without such base line data, any estimate of successful change becomes conjectural, since it must be based on retrospective accounts which are likely to be fragmentary and subject to distortion.

Such a study is likely to furnish an important basis for program planning in numerous areas. This may be more readily apparent from a consideration of the kinds of information covered in a study of this kind.

Like a consumer market survey, it obtains data on the principal social characteristics of those studied; for example:

Their age distribution—how many children are there to be served by Sunday schools? how many older people, perhaps requiring separate activities? etc.

Their educational level—what are its implications for the intellectual level of sermons preached, of literature distributed, etc.? Are those probably too high? too low?

Their residential distribution—how many have to travel unduly long distances to get to church? To what extent are churches serving their local neighborhoods?

In addition, subjects more specifically related to religion and the church may be explored. These may include such topics as:

Membership in the church or church-related bodies

Frequency of attendance at religious services

Extent and character of participation in church-related activities

Reasons for attendance or lack of attendance, for participation or nonparticipation—appeals and satisfactions derived from church-going, complaints or grievances with respect to the church's program, etc.

Extent of knowledge about, and conformity with, the beliefs, attitudes, and behavior preached by the church

The role of religion in everyday life among church members and non-members

The program-planning implications of the findings derived from questioning on such matters are manifestly broad. But there is much more that further studies can accomplish.

Evaluation of the Church's "Mass Communications." The churches collectively are among the major producers of mass communications in the United States—leaflets, booklets, magazines, radio broadcasts, motion pictures, and so on. Each one of these might be improved considerably by systematic evaluation. This would involve analysis of the contents of the communication combined with study of the audience reached and of its reactions.

Let us consider, for example, a pamphlet published by a religious organization. As a first step, one of the several tests of readability and level of interest might be used to determine what kind of persons might find the style appealing, and thus whether it would be likely to reach the kind of readers for whom it was intended. Such testing might be linked to information from a "base line" study on the educational level of the target group. At the same time, a content analysis focusing on what is said by the pamphlet could show the extent to which program objectives were being emphasized. Analysis of this sort might in itself suggest changes in style, emphasis, etc. The pamphlet so revised might then be pretested by being distributed to a limited number of persons selected from the target group, who would be interviewed to determine their reactions to the pamphlet. Only after such preliminary procedures, and revisions suggested by them, would the pamphlet be issued.

For the countless thousands of pamphlets and other similar publications distributed each year, one might ask a series of questions: Into the hands of what kinds of people do they find their way? Are they ever systematically distributed to persons who are not part of a self-selected audience? If so, what evidence is there that they are read? And, if read, found of any interest? And if found interesting, that they are understood? And, finally, that any significant number of readers of these publications are influenced in anticipated directions?

Such an approach might be taken not only to materials designed for more or less general circulation but also to those intended for rather specific groups, such as teaching materials for Sunday schools. The same kinds of questions, suitably modified, might also be raised concerning each of the other media of mass communication utilized. While it might be relatively costly to obtain the answers to some of these questions, the kinds of pretesting techniques used with commercial radio and television could yield useful information without excessive expense.

Evaluation of Evangelism. The evaluation of a church's on-going program might appropriately include research on the effects of evangelistic activities and other methods of bringing in members by face-to-face communication. The campaigns of Billy Graham and of other less publicized evangelists have brought into considerable question the effectiveness of "revival" techniques. Some city federations of churches that have invited Mr. Graham have been well satisfied with the results; others have complained that, while they paid the costs, Mr. Graham collected the cash, and they saw little benefit accruing to local churches. A crude survey of opinion on the subject conducted by *The New York Times* a few months ago could do no more than raise the issue sharply.

What are the results of revival campaigns? Is evangelism of this type effective in today's urbanized world? Some study should be made to learn something about those who are attracted to such campaign meetings. What proportion of them, for example, are already members of a church? Of those previously not church members, what proportion are impelled to join? How many of those who attend such meetings are influenced to change their attitudes and behavior?

How permanent a change is wrought by this kind of evangelism? For instance, of those who join a church as a result, what proportion continue to attend for as long, let us say, as a year? What kinds of techniques might be developed by churches to hold members brought in through evangelis-

tic campaigns? And is it possible to assess the value or effectiveness of even short-term changes followed by backsliding?

A final series of questions might be raised concerning functional alternatives to evangelism. What of other face-to-face techniques for recruiting members? How successful are these—how effective, as judged by the criteria embodied in the questions above? Are the men's visitation clubs used by some churches an appropriate and effective means to the same end? What other methods could be devised to attract and hold members?

All of these and related questions would furnish the substance of a valuable study within a program of evaluation research.

Evaluation of the Effectiveness of the Ministry. Evaluating the performance of individual ministers, though probably most difficult to plan and to execute, would be of crucial significance. Research of this kind not only could be of great value in improving the effectiveness of present clergymen, but could be "fed back" into the seminaries to train a new generation of more effective ministers.

The formulation of objectives and criteria of their successful accomplishment may present a particularly difficult problem due to the multiplicity of the roles performed by the clergy. Indeed, since the objectives of the minister in his various roles are not identical, the aims should presumably be separately derived and spelled out for each role. Let us consider here the role which might be described as preacher or teacher or communicator of norms for beliefs and behavior. This role is singled out in part because it is one of the central roles of the clergy, in part because it is relatively easy to suggest an approach to evaluating its performance.

Both objectives and criteria might also vary by denomination—or group of denominations. In general, the objectives might be framed in such terms as these:

To make the "sinner" change his associates (or separate himself from his old reference group), supplying new associates (or a new reference group) which he will accept.

To convey a sense of direction and of belonging, or to end the alienation of the individual from man and from God—i.e. to instill faith and hope.

As is usually the case, the criteria often suggested turn out upon examination to be preconditions of effectiveness (e.g., competence as an admin-

istrator, approachability, interest in people). Inasmuch as these preconditions are important of attainment in themselves, they might well be tested in much the same fashion as the qualifications of college teachers. Just as the students in many colleges and universities are urged to rate their instructors and professors, so might a secure and courageous minister invite his congregation to rate him. The characteristics for rating can be selected without great difficulty. Such group rating, performed anonymously, might encourage the minister to take stock of his characteristics and consider whether he needs to change, or whether he needs to explain better to his congregation why he speaks and behaves toward them as he does.

This, however, is not testing his success in reaching his objectives of conveying to his parishioners the doctrines or standards of his church, and leading them to conform to these standards. For this purpose there would have to be resort to some attitude-measurement technique—whether individual personal interview, or group discussion, or self-administered questionnaire, or some other. Tests would have to be devised of knowledge of the church's teachings, and of attitudes and behavior theoretically regulated by its norms. Various projective techniques might be most appropriate for studying the acceptance of the church's standards.

Such knowledge-attitude-behavior tests would be administered to obtain "base line" information about the congregation. Subsequent to a series of sermons designed specifically to convey the church's position, a second test would be made to observe any effects. In short, the general pattern of evaluation research described above would be followed, with observation and analysis of what the minister says and does to affect the behavior and ideology of his parishioners, and testing of the latter through time to determine the extent to which he is reaching his goals.

Evaluation of Church-Related Education. The final area to be noted here includes the various kinds of educational institutions maintained by or affiliated with religious bodies: parochial schools, Sunday schools, seminaries, church-related secular colleges, etc. Since there is a well-defined tradition of evaluation in the field of education, I need not discuss this here in detail. For all of these schools, however, supported in part or wholly by religious organizations, there is one basic question to be raised: Does the investment "pay off"? Do the students who are the product of these schools show an appreciable difference from the product of other schools? And, if so, is the difference traceable to the influence of the school, or is it the result of a selective process which brings into the church-affiliated school students from families

which already have molded, or continue to mold, their children as the church would wish?

Let us consider the secular colleges with a relatively close relation with, and financial support from, a religious denomination. What are they expected to accomplish in the way of instilling attitudes in their students? What special influences do they bring to bear upon their students? In what sense, if at all, are these students subjected to influences different from those encountered at other colleges? For example, would one have reason to anticipate that the product of a church-related college would be discernibly more "Christian" than his friend who went to some other college?

Conclusion

The questions raised in this final section are not viewed as necessarily describing precisely the ground to be covered in an evaluation program. Jointly, however, they constitute an example of the fashion in which an evaluation of the program of a religious body might be planned. In actuality, as one study would be completed and its results "fed back" into the activity program, the nature of the most urgently needed "next study" would become more apparent.

It should be apparent that evaluation is not by any means a prescription for building larger organizations. As was suggested earlier, the church most effective in guiding its members to its ideal way of life might turn out to be one characterized less by formal structures than by a membership pervaded by faith, hope, and charity.

CHURCHES IN A CHANGING CULTURE

DAVID M. GRAYBEAL

Drew University

The role of the churches in areas of rapid social change is of world-wide interest today. In what ways do churches direct social change, adapt to it, or resist it? When the question is put thus, no universal answer is forth-

coming. A continuing series of field studies is needed to explore the problem. This article describes the method and the findings of one such study, conducted by the writer in 1951, concerning the changes in both the churches and the culture in a county-seat town in the Southern Appalachians during the period from 1931 to 1951.

The method of study was a combination of two approaches. The cultural anthropologists' method of participation, observation, and interrogation of respondents was combined with the historiographers' method of dealing with the appropriate records and evidences of the earlier period. The American studies most influential in use of this approach were Pope's *Millhands and Preachers*; Lynds' Middletown series; West's *Plainville, USA*; Underwood's then unpublished Paper City study (since published under the title of *Protestant and Catholic*); and the Warner and Lunt series on Yankee City. The writings of certain anthropologists who worked in other cultures were also illuminating, especially those of Malinowski, Benedict, and Mead.

Three instruments of social analysis were employed in the organization and interpretation of the field experience; it was assumed that the patterns of social stratification found in other American communities would have parallels in Centerville (a pseudonym), that the church-sect typology of Troeltsch, Niebuhr, and Pope would be illuminating, and that the *gemeinschaft-gesellschaft* typology of Toennies might provide an interpretive framework. In each case, the field experience justified these anticipations.

In East Tennessee, traits of the American frontier have persisted into our century. The culture was characterized by strong individualism, paternalism and a familistic orientation, and a centering of community activities around activities considered to be specifically religious. The economic base was a subsistence agriculture in which life was hard. The highlander was in consequence uneducated and often illiterate. He was a man of deep and lasting loyalties, and a violent defense of them was never far below the surface. The area has been relatively isolated.

The predominant pattern of church life in the Southern Appalachians was one which corresponded to the general cultural pattern of the region as briefly characterized above; it was a conversionist pattern which saw this one religious experience as the *sine qua non* of the Christian life, and with this intense individualism it combined an intensely familistic and patriarchal orientation toward church structure and participation. Denominational loyalty was as strongly held as loyalty to the blood-kin. In consequence, the individualism-familism patterns of the rural agricultural communities and the individualism-familism of the churches reinforced each other and issued in

a strongly theocratic pattern for the region. The mountain preacher was thus a man to be reckoned with in the life of the community.

Cultural Changes

In the two decades from 1931 to 1951, many influences for change were introduced into the region. Significant developments which had been in process in the rest of the nation were extended into the region, so that it began to feel the effects of industrialism, urbanization, a rising standard of living, a decreasing isolation and homogeneity of population, and an accompanying increase in social stratification within the communities of the region. Centerville grew from a community of 7,000 persons to one of 13,000. It changed from an agricultural marketing center to a diversified economic structure which included extensive furniture and textile industries. The most dramatic development was the construction of two major TVA dams in the immediate vicinity, which provided a new source of employment during the construction phase and required abandonment of farms and relocation of families from the flooded areas.

To these obvious factors of rapid social change were added other significant influences to bring the region increasingly within the realm of the prevailing national culture: the channels of mass communication were extended, transportation was improved, the focus of political interest shifted toward Washington and away from the courthouse, the schools were improved and curricula were standardized, and World War II occurred with its population-dislocating effects.

What was the combined effect of these influences for change upon the culture of the community? The answer to this question may be the most important result of the study. In 1951, the old ethos was exhibiting an amazing resilience and ability to incorporate the changes into the overarching way of life which it had known. Though altered in many obvious ways, Centerville still knew itself to be Centerville, and it was proud of the fact. One respondent said,

Well, the government could see this last war coming up, and they knew they were going to need a lot of electric power. So they built the TVA in East Tennessee because they knew the people here could adjust to a thing like that and not be spoiled by it. We've got strong people here. This is the Bible Belt, you know. A TVA would just have ruined people in another section of the country.

As the field study progressed, some clues contained in this comment became increasingly significant. The changes in the culture by 1951 had been predominantly in the area of activities and practices, especially those specifically economic in character; the relatively unchanged elements in the culture were those which had to do with ideas, attitudes, values, and the self-understanding of the members of the community. It seemed likely that the continuing strength of these elements was due in part, at least, to their correlation with the religious convictions which had characterized the region.

Types of Cultural Change: A Paradigm

It was now evident that, if the relationship of the churches to the changing culture were to be understood in 1951, a more adequate description of the nature of the cultural change was required. Since no existing typology seemed quite to state the distinctions which the field experience indicated were necessary, a scheme which divided culture into two general areas was employed: "practical" was used to indicate those aspects of culture which have to do with that which is *done*, including the instrumental, common-sense reasoning which accompanies it, and "ideal" was used to designate the realm of those ideas, convictions, self-understandings, and social consciousness developed over time and now generally held by the community, including those rites and other activities which emerge primarily from them. Thus, it could be said that in 1931 the "ideal" and "practical" aspects of the culture both tended to exhibit *gemeinschaft* characteristics; by 1951 the "practical" side of the culture had begun to move toward the *gesellschaft* pole while the "ideal" side of the culture had moved less far in that direction.

Many of the observed changes appeared in conjunction with each other. Attempts during the field study to discern some order of priority in the changes led to the formulation of the following paradigm of the patterns of cultural change in Centerville:

PARADIGM OF PATTERNS OF CULTURAL CHANGE IN CENTERVILLE

- A. Influences from outside the community combined to cause changes in the forms of production.
 1. Industry was added to the existing agricultural economy.
 2. The Extension Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture influenced a shift to diversified farming.
 3. The TVA acted as industrial and level-of-living catalyst.
- B. Changes in forms of production produced changes in occupation.
 1. Part-time farming increased.

2. Work habits changed.
 3. Family relationships altered.
 4. City size increased.
 5. Service industries grew.
- C. Social stratification was heightened.
1. Growth of self-conscious laboring class occurred.
 2. Growth of self-conscious business and managerial class occurred.
- D. Class-oriented institutions and organizations grew.
1. In the upper classes, women's clubs, civic clubs, and recreational and "cultural" groups were proliferated.
 2. In the lower classes, labor unions began to challenge the traditional monopoly of the sectarian churches.
 3. Local congregations became increasingly class churches.
- E. The entire culture began to move in the direction of the impinging culture (*gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft*).
1. The practical side of the culture changed more quickly than the ideal side.
 2. The upper, business and managerial, classes changed more quickly than the working classes.
 3. The urban sections changed more quickly than the rural sections.
 4. The industrial workers changed more quickly than the agricultural workers.

The paradigm is illustrative of the entire field experience; wherever change was occurring, the practical side was the leader in the change.

It is significant to note that even the TVA concentrated its forces for change in the Valley in the "practical" realm and was quite reticent about the ideological implications of its establishment. In the region in 1951 there seemed to be little awareness of having participated in the "great social experiment."

Churches Mirror the Environment

Now we are ready to return to the question to which the study addresses itself: how did the churches of Centerville respond to the cultural changes which were occurring in the community? Their changes mirrored those of the environment; that is, the practical side of the churches' life changed more than did the ideal side. It is crucial, however, to distinguish between the responses of the churches and the responses of the sects, to use the familiar Troeltsch-Niebuhr-Pope distinction. In general, the church-

type congregations changed more in the direction of and in the positive evaluation of the emerging culture than did the sects. Each must be delineated, however, in somewhat greater detail.

In almost every category, the churches moved toward the *gesellschaftlich* orientation. The churches expanded enormously their material apparatus to include contemporary buildings, air-conditioning, large educational facilities, playgrounds, and the like. This expansion was accompanied by a tendency for their programs to ramify throughout the week into many subgroups, divided into age and sex categories, which carried on many types of activities in addition to worship. The churches began to think of themselves as community-service institutions in addition to their traditional self-understandings. Worship services slowly became more liturgical. The financial affairs of the much-enlarged operation became increasingly contractualized into budgets, every-member canvasses, and a willingness to assume long-range financial obligations in order to build adequate buildings.

The attitudes of pastors and laymen of these churches were affirmative to the changes. Their statements may be summarized in the following categories:

1. The changes which have occurred are progressive and good.
2. Centerville is a good community in which to live.
3. Church people are becoming more enlightened and liberal.
4. The church should endorse new values which the community experience brings into existence.
5. The sects have their place. They reach a group of people which for some reason we cannot reach.

It must be remarked, however, that these attitudes were stated in private conversations and were substantiated by the practices of the churches; they did not appear to be pronounced from the pulpits with any great regularity. From the limited evidence available (published sermons, sermon titles in the local newspaper, recordings of radio services, and visits to services) the content and focus of the sermons seemed not significantly different over the twenty-year period. Even so, the dominant impression of the churches of Centerville was that their life had moved in the direction of the developing culture, with the practices changing with greater ease than their pronouncements.

Little Change among Sects

In the sects, the religious patterns of the past continued with little change. The buildings were typically unpretentious one-room structures, built

by contributed labor of the members. Where a sect building was under construction, the process was frequently delayed and halted by lack of funds to buy the requisite lumber or cinder blocks. Home-made pews and plain glass windows were the rule. All services in the sect had the manifest purpose of worship and evangelism, and to this end they were informal and unstructured so as to allow for the leading of the Spirit. The minister's prime requirement was that he be "God-called"; the music was in the contemporary folk idiom.

Families participated in the sect activities together and the sect tended to think of itself as one family which united in prayers and concern for the members of households who were not yet of the household of faith. The financial support of the sect was occasional and voluntary; the money was raised as it was needed for specific purposes. The minister usually supported himself largely through secular work.

The sects grew through the processes of internal division and charismatic leadership; sometimes the sects established and nurtured mission churches in other parts of town. The one area of innovation which seemed to be growing rapidly was the interest of some sects in faith-healing. These activities were not usually part of the ordinary services of the sects but were centered around the services of traveling healers who set up large tents in the community and drew many sectarian Christians into their meetings.

The sectarians' attitudes toward the changes in the culture were negative and vocal. They may be summarized as follows:

1. The changes which are occurring are dangerous to spirituality. Economic depression is good because it shows man his true condition.
2. Centerville is a corrupt community.
3. The only true greatness is that of the spirit.
4. The churches' formality hinders the work of the Spirit.
5. The Bible prophecies of the future are true. There is no significant progress. Christians should expect to be persecuted.

In the sects, the practices and ideas of the Southern Appalachians' religious past lives on. A comparison between the attitudes of members of the churches and of the sects will indicate the degree to which Centerville Christians differed in their evaluation of the rapid social change they had experienced. (The forthcoming Southern Appalachian Studies Report, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, will add valuable information concerning attitudes toward change.)

Two Questions

In conclusion, we must raise two related questions concerning the implication of this study for the future. In Centerville we see the ideas of the churches moving toward the *gesellschaft* pole in order to correspond more adequately to daily experience. In doing so they are perhaps recapitulating the experience of churches throughout the nation during our national history. Do the practices of man's social and economic life indeed shape the very forms in which his religious convictions may be held? Are some of these "forms" more permeable by the Christian gospel than others? If the answer to both is affirmative, the churches have a reason for the continuing analysis of the very fabric of social existence, a reason as profound as their concern for social justice.

Although the *gemeinschaft-gesellschaft* typology has been used throughout in a purely descriptive sense, we must now observe that the church's traditional descriptions of the relationships among her members are more like the *gemeinschaft* pole than its opposite. Will a social order which is increasingly oriented toward *gesellschaftlich* relationships eventually shape its members in such a way that the traditionally familistic character of the congregation becomes outmoded and unneeded? Certainly there is some evidence that contemporary American family life relies less upon *gemeinschaftlich* relationships than formerly. Can it be that the Christian of the future will be more individualistic, feeling little need of the fellowship of other Christians, obtaining religious services from his church when he desires them on some sort of contractualized or fee basis? In Centerville there are some beginnings in this direction on the part of the churches, as their life and thought move toward the *gesellschaft* pole. Interestingly enough, two sociologists have been quite dogmatic concerning this question. Loomis and Beegle have written:

When the church loses its familistic *gemeinschaft* characteristic, the social system ceases to be a religious social system [Loomis and Beegle, *Rural Social Systems*, p. 411].

Perhaps in America, and even in the Southern Appalachians, we shall see their dictum tested.

THE CHURCH OF GOD: A STUDY IN SOCIAL ADAPTATION

VAL CLEAR

Evangelical Theological Seminary

Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico

The Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), a body which grew out of the National Holiness Movement of the late nineteenth century in the United States, has experienced rapid and extensive change in its seventy-five years of history. Beginning as a religious movement around 1880 in Ohio and Indiana, it now has one or more congregations in every state of the union and in several foreign countries. In the course of this growth, the group has altered a large number of its early practices and has completely reversed itself on some of them. This study is directed toward gaining an understanding of (a) why changes have taken place, (b) what changes have taken place, and (c) why these particular changes took place instead of other changes.

It is the thesis of this study that social change in the Church of God has been more in the direction of Protestantization than it has been in the direction of secularization. A confusing factor is that, while the culture in the United States is largely secular, it has been strongly influenced by Protestantism. A movement in the direction of Protestantism may appear to be a movement in the direction of the secular culture. But there is evidence that tends to indicate that the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana—one of a number of religious bodies with the name Church of God), which withdrew from organized Christianity as a protest against alleged corruptions of the Christian message, has been making adaptations in an effort to gain prestige not so much in the secular world as in the religious world. Further, that prestige is sought in the segment of organized Christianity which has been described as "respectable" Protestantism.

In the course of the writer's investigation, it became apparent that there were forces in the social situation which influenced the direction of the changes which took place. Further study revealed that the developmental pattern of the group fell into eight natural stages, and that these stages seemed to have a coherence which carried it from its original character as a protest group to its present character as an accommodation group. The eight stages appear below.

Findings

Evidence showed that adaption of the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana) remained in an essentially religious framework. Although many of the writers in this field have stressed the process of secularization as it touches the aging protest group, in the Church of God the process seems to have been more an adaptation to Protestant culture. This is apparent in the thoroughly religious pattern of the institutions of higher learning, including the graduate school of theology. Numerous efforts were made to secure membership in such bodies as the International Council of Religious Education, the Home Missions Council, the Foreign Missions Conference, and the Indiana Association of Church-Related Colleges; and at present the religious body is formally affiliated with the divisions of Home Missions and Christian Education, and the units on stewardship and on evangelism of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

Three Influential Forces

Three factors help explain why change took place and why it did so at such a rapid rate.

In the first place, the adherents of the new group did not have a common background of religious tradition. Early adherents came from at least eighteen different denominations. In such a heterogeneous reservoir of tradition as this, change faced less resistance than it would have had the group been schismatic from another religious body, thus possessing a common heritage.

In the second place, the Church of God moved to the city with the mass movement urbanward during this period. This had a twofold effect. On the one hand, the people who moved from the rural setting were uprooted and their customary behavior patterns disturbed. They were predisposed to change. On the other hand, the converts made in the cities were heterogeneous, and their numbers overwhelmed the original stock which undertook to plant the Church of God in the cities. With the increased prestige usually accorded the urban, city Church of God adherents tended to set the standards of the group.

The third factor which helps explain the occurrence and rapidity of change is corollary to the second. It is the adoption of bourgeois attitudes. One of the earliest indications of this process came in 1910 when the concession was made by the leader that it was permissible for a Church of God man to wear a necktie if he was employed in a public position where his em-

ployer required it, such as working as a clerk in a store or as a teller in a bank. This compromise of traditional religious taboo in order to avoid offending the attitudes of the new milieu of the Church of God paved the way for rapid and extensive change.

Eight Stages of Development

The developmental pattern of the Church of God falls into eight stages. These are not mutually exclusive, overlapping at points. They are to be regarded as periods of emphasis, each step finding its inception over a span of time and gradually diminishing as the new emphasis appears.

Step 1. *Social Unrest*. Following the Civil War there was a reaction among church people against the increasing formalization and professionalization of the traditional churches. This was manifested in the diffuse holiness agitation which spread through practically all American denominations.

Step 2. *A Leader Emerges and Defines the Issue*. Out of the totally unorganized holiness group came various leaders, one of whom became important for this study, D. S. Warner. He spoke forcefully and wrote convincingly, presenting in an incendiary manner an attack on the religious system of his period.

Step 3. *A Self-Conscious Minority Rallies around the Leader*. Around the personality and work of D. S. Warner coalesced a group of supporters who subscribed to his teachings. They produced their own jargon, took issue with groups which differed from them, experienced increasing disaffection from their own denominations, and developed intensely held group loyalty.

Step 4. *The Parent Body Rejects the Ideas of the New Group and a Separation Takes Place*. When organized Christianity refused to accept the viewpoint of D. S. Warner and his associates, it became apparent to them that there was no adequate hope for reform. It would be necessary for all sincere Christians to desert apostate "denominationalism" (i.e., all of organized Christianity) and return to the purity of the one church which Christ founded. This meant that the believer in the Warner approach had to withdraw from his denominational membership and from the local congregation.

Step 5. *The New Group Is Isolated*. As individuals withdrew from local congregations of the various denominations, they became religiously isolated, and in many cases socially isolated as well. The message of the new group spread mainly by literature distributed by mail, and in most cases adherents had very few neighbors who knew and accepted Warnerism. Since they had

withdrawn from their former church affiliations in a situation which implied that they considered themselves on a holier plane, the communities in which they lived shunned or openly opposed them.

Step 6. *The New Group Becomes Institutionalized* (1893-1909). With the growing size and enlarged program of the Warner movement came the problem of legal and ecclesiastical responsibility. To own property for camp meeting use necessitated a board of trustees. Other functions of the group increased in complexity, and individuals had to be appointed to see that these functions were adequately performed. An institutional structure developed.

Step 7. *Sophistication Develops* (1913). A growing concern with affairs of this world appeared. A noticeable effort was made to gain status as a "respectable" denomination within organized Protestantism. Gothic stone churches were built, a graduate school of theology was established for ministerial preparation, and other patterns reflected a desire to gain prestige.

Step 8. *Social Unrest Anew* (1945-). As a result of the changes in emphasis, there developed within the group resistance to the alleged compromises. Dissidents experienced on a more limited scale the social unrest in which the Church of God movement was first born and responded to it in a schismatic movement. Thus the cycle was complete.

The third part of the study was concerned with trends observed in selected areas: attitudes toward civil government; "conscience questions" (attire, entertainment, and diet); the ordinances (including ordination); The Gospel Trumpet Company; education, health, and healing; The Gospel Trumpet Family and mission homes; polity, centralization, and decentralization; insurance; and schisms.

Note on Methodology

The primary source of the study, done as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago, 1954, was *The Gospel Trumpet*, Anderson, Indiana, the periodical which played a major part in the development of the Church of God. This source was supplemented by other periodicals, booklets, and pamphlets.

Personal documents included the personal diary of D. S. Warner, voluminous collections of correspondence of deceased leaders, and autobiographical materials of various kinds.

Interviews were held with all the living leaders of the denomination, several of whom died during the course of the study. Two of the latter were members of the original evangelistic party which toured the country with Warner.

And finally, the research was done by a participant observer. Many of the sources of indispensable information could be obtained only by someone who had an unqualified entrance into all areas of the group's intimate history. Once the material was secured, every effort was made to treat it with perspective.

REVIEWS OF CURRENT BOOKS

Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait. By Reinhard Bendix. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1960. 480 pp., \$5.75.

Professor Bendix' book is written by a sociologist primarily for sociologists, but it is an important book for all persons concerned with Weber's work, and particularly for students of religion in any capacity. It fills an important gap in the existing literature in that it is a competent, scholarly review of the main body of Weber's empirical work. It is modest in aim, specifically confining itself to summary and codification, without attempting a critical evaluation. It pays primary attention to the empirical side of Weber's work, thus not making explicit his contributions to systematic theory. Furthermore it does not attempt to place Weber in the intellectual history of his time, nor to compare his contributions systematically with those of other scholars who dealt with the same subjects.

Since the writer has reviewed Bendix' book more comprehensively for the sociological reader (cf. *American Sociological Review*, October, 1960) this article stresses the aspects of the book which are of particular importance to the student of religion. For understandable reasons, the scientific study of religion within our culture, and particularly in the fields with which Weber deals, has taken its departure from history. With all its enormous contributions to our knowledge of societies and cultures, history as a discipline has been marked by two important limitations from the present point of view: namely, first, a concentration on particular periods

in the development of a particular society or culture with a corresponding neglect of systematic comparisons; and, second, an acceptance of common-sense conceptualizations and classifications in defining interests and shaping interpretations, to the neglect of the type of analytical distinctions and generalizations which form a principal interest of the more theoretically oriented social and cultural sciences.

For reasons of this order, there has been a strong tendency to be concerned with Weber piecemeal as it were. The most conspicuous example is the extent to which historians with an interest in Protestantism have treated Weber's famous essay on the *Protestant Ethic* as if it were just another historical monograph dealing with a particular sequence of events and ideas without reference to any further context, and attempting to evaluate the contribution, favorably or unfavorably as the case might be, on this basis alone.

In two primary respects, both of which are covered very thoroughly in Bendix' book, it is impossible on this basis to understand what Weber was trying to do in that essay, and hence to do any sort of justice to his contribution. These are, first, the sense in which the *Protestant Ethic* was the beginning of a very comprehensive and carefully planned series of *comparative* studies of the sociology of religion, hence never meant to stand by itself as a historical monograph. The second is the sense in which his study of the economic ethic of a religious movement, and the set of religious beliefs which gave it meaning, was meant to be a contribution to one specialized aspect of a much more general theoretical analysis of the processes of social and economic development, hence, in this analytical rather than historical sense, not meant to stand alone and not capable of satisfactory interpretation unless seen in its relation to the author's many studies of other components and factors in social structure and process. Let us take up each of these points briefly.

Weber's most basic concern was with the understanding of some of the main institutional features of modern Western society, namely, those involved in the complex which is now generally referred to as "industrialism," which is substantially broader than that of "capitalism," if by that is meant profit-oriented private enterprise. It comprises both "socialistic" forms of industrialism and a wider complex of cultural and social features than economic organization in a narrower sense. As Bendix makes quite clear, both the two main problem foci of the present discussion should be referred to this basic interest. (Since space in this review is so limited. for further discussion of this and various other issues in the interpretation of Weber, see the writer's discussion in the *Structure of Social Action*, Chapters XIII-XVI, which, though written nearly a quarter century ago, he considers substantially correct.)

Weber meant his analysis of the Protestant ethic to strike certain especially salient keynotes on the religio-cultural level. He used it to delineate a *Gestalt* of religiously grounded values. But he showed he was not primarily a historian in that, instead of digging deeper into the detail of its development or into the immediate historical antecedents, he chose to seek for comparative *contrast*. He went deliberately to the historic civilizations which had been the bearers of and in some way shaped by other great "world religions" which stood in the sharpest contrast to the orientation of the Protestant West in this respect. The classic studies which embody this methodology of contrast are the monographs on the religions of China and of India.

These in turn served two different purposes for Weber. His central problem was that of the relation between *transcendentally* oriented religious commitments and motivation to activity in what we would call the secular world. The main trend of Indian religion was to him the type case of what might be called the Western "common-sense" consequence of transcendental orientation, namely, a basically *otherworldly* concern which put the premium on mysticism and otherworldly asceticism. Hence, in spite of the high degree of intellectual sophistication, therefore in a sense rationalization, of Indian religion, in relation to secular social activity its influence was in the direction of traditionalistic stereotyping, most conspicuously in the sanctioning of the hereditary principle in the caste system.

The case of China stood in sharp contrast to this, but this time because, by Western common-sense standards, Confucianism in particular ought to have promoted the industrial type of development as a result of its valuation of shrewd practicality and worldly interests such as wealth and long life, combined with what in Christian terms is an almost total lack of transcendental interest. Weber's thesis here is that Confucianism also favored traditionalism because it lacked the transcendental basis of leverage over the motivation to secular achievement which Christianity generally, but ascetic Protestantism in particular, has had. As he put it in the concluding chapter of the *Religion of China*, Confucianism was a doctrine of rational *adaptation to* the world, whereas Puritanism was a doctrine of rational *mastery over* the world.

Having established this broad threefold typology of religious orientations in their relations to incentives to secular achievement, Weber started to investigate refinements. His notable monograph on ancient Judaism was a special inquiry into certain problems of the antecedents of Protestantism. It was, however, also concerned with the background of the interpretation of the very special role of the Jews in modern Western society, hence the combination of respects in which Judaism was an origin both of the trends in Christianity in which Weber was interested, and at the same time

of the reasons why later Judaism did not constitute the "main line" of the major development, but rather gave way to Western Christianity.

The study of Judaism was the first of a projected series of "filling in" studies which included proposals for monographs on early Christianity and on medieval Catholicism, which Weber—who died at the early age of 56—did not carry out. This broad comparative perspective, however, and the more systematic theoretical interests which, with reference to religion, are most fully stated in the section on the sociology of religion in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (fortunately soon to be published in English translation by the Beacon Press) are absolutely essential to the understanding of anything Weber wrote in the field of religion. It is one of the great merits of Bendix' book that its availability makes it far more difficult than before to act as if this were not true.

Essentially the same is true of the other major problem area of Weber's work, that of the *relation* between religiously grounded values and the "material" factors, particularly of economic interest and political power, in social processes. Only ideological rather than scientific factors can account for the extraordinary persistence of the myth that Weber (in his own words) had the aim "to substitute for a one-sided materialistic an equally one-sided spiritualistic (*geistic*) causal interpretation of culture and of history" (*Protestant Ethic*, p. 183). Not only did Weber, in this and many other passages, explicitly and repeatedly disclaim this interpretation, but, far more important, the actual content of his work is completely incompatible with it. Virtually only the *Protestant Ethic* among the immense corpus of his works is a specialized study of this side alone. The comparative studies just discussed *all* deal explicitly with the interdependence. In addition to these, there are numerous empirical and theoretical studies and analyses which are far more concerned with the "material" aspect of social life than with the "spiritualistic." These include the very comprehensive analyses of economic action and organization, of political authority and power, and, not least important, the sociology of law. It is true that Weber took the dichotomy stated in German terms, between *Idealfaktoren* and *Realfaktoren* as a central point of reference. Furthermore, there is an important sense in which the version of the dichotomy which lay most immediately in the background of his work was the contrast between the views of Hegel and Marx.

The important point here, however, is that Weber refused to accept this as an either-or dilemma; one did not need to be either a Hegelian or to "set Hegel on his head." The logical resemblance to the old days when, in the field of biological theory, one had to believe in the predominance

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either of heredity or of environment is striking. Just as we have in fact reached a stage of maturity in biology where such dichotomizing is childish, the time has also come when this should be true of the social and cultural disciplines. It is precisely one of the two most important contributions of Weber—at this level of generality of intellectual orientation—to have been perhaps the first eminent theorist who took *both* sides of this basic duality with the utmost seriousness, and tried to work out problems of the *interrelations* of the two as his main theoretical and analytical task.

It is the great merit of Bendix' book that he presents, in sufficiently succinct form, a résumé of Weber's work which, by showing the integral importance of both these two perspectives to Weber himself, and in the actual structure of his intellectual production, restores the perspective on Weber's work which has been so grossly distorted by ideological interests in exploiting parts of it, both positively and negatively. It should help greatly in the social sciences beginning to come of age.

Talcott Parsons, Harvard University

Sociology of Religion. By Georg Simmel. Translated by Curt Rosenthal. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. 76 pp., \$3.75.

One can only feel grateful for what the translator has done in making available in English the substance of much of Simmel's thought on religion. Simmel was one of the towering minds of German sociology at the turn of the century. He was recognized in his own day as a scholar of uncommon acumen, and his reputation today is excelled by no sociologist, dead or living. No matter how greatly we may admire the other giants of his day—Weber, Durkheim, Toennies, Pareto—Simmel has something no one of the others ever shared: an intuitive understanding that carried him across chasms of reasoning that others could not leap. He had the soul of an artist as well as the mind of a dedicated scientist. He was also a man of deep religious regard.

"Practical faith," he writes, "is a basic, essentially sociological attitude of the soul—i.e., it becomes active in relation to a being confronting the ego. Man can accomplish this even with regard to himself, for he is capable of splitting himself into a subject and an object. . . . Faith in the ego, in another one, and in God prove so frequently alike because all the manifestations are expressions of the same spiritual tensions, differing only according to the sociological object." One can easily see in these words the basis of Martin Buber's regard for Simmel's work.

Consider his superb and regrettably brief treatment of the social origins of Christianity. Like other historians of the subject, especially

Gilbert Murray, he finds much of the peculiar and irresistible strength of the Good News to lie in the readiness with which early Christians in Rome placed themselves in small, tight social communities. In these there was refuge from the chill winds of the Roman marketplace and bureaucracy, but there was something more, as Simmel emphasizes: "The synthesis in the group is the prototype of the perceived, the conscious unity, transcending personality, and its particular form is mirrored or sublimated in the religious unity of existence, held together by the concept of God."

Simmel's treatment of religion in this volume is almost entirely of Christianity and the Judaic-Christian tradition. Christianity for him is the highest form of religion because social and spiritual unity merge in a way that is not to be found elsewhere. He speaks of Christianity as having "revolutionized the solidarity of the God with the social unity," and he concludes, "The saying 'He who is not for me is against me' is one of the greatest turning points of world history in the sociology of religion."

Simmel was pre-eminently the sociologist of the small and intimate elements of human association, as we know from his matchless studies of secrecy, obedience, and dyads and triads. He brings much of this analysis to religion, and with results that are not to be found in either Weber or Durkheim.

Robert A. Nisbet, University of California (Riverside)

The History of Religions: Essays in Methodology. Edited by Mircea Eliade and Joseph M. Kitagawa. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959. 163 pp., \$5.00.

A collection of essays by eminent scholars almost always is uneven in its presentation of the announced theme or concern of the book. This volume, dedicated to the memory of the late Joachim Wach, is no exception. At times the reader wonders whether the editors have not been more concerned to secure the participation of prominent scholars than to present a series of essays each of which will contribute to scholarly advance in the area of methodological problems inherent in the history of religions. Some of these essays are excellent—even exciting; the one by Benz, of Marburg, despite its sincere and well-meaning concern to present the problems which confront one attempting to understand non-Christian religions, is extremely elementary and trite to the reader who is prepared to appreciate the scholarship evident in the other essays.

The foregoing comments have been made because any potential reader should not expect to find in this book a unified attempt to deal with the

methodological problems which were the intense concern of Wach from his student days in Germany until his untimely death while Professor of the History of Religions at the University of Chicago. Rather, the contributors have presented essays which reflect the problem or problems that now primarily concern them as scholars in the discipline and as religious men seeking understanding amid the variety of religious phenomena. It is this which makes the majority of the essays exciting to the reader who is concerned that the history of religions achieve its rightful place as a recognized scholarly discipline in the academic world.

Readers who are familiar with the writings of Joseph Kitagawa, Raffaele Pettazzoni, Jean Danielou, Mircea Eliade, Louis Massignon, and Friedrich Heiler will discover little that is new in their essays, but much which is stimulating and conducive to personal reflection and study concerning the problems they present. To this reviewer, however, the outrageous price which the publishers charge for this small book is easily forgotten when reading Wilfred Cantwell Smith's "Comparative Religion: Whither—and Why?" Smith's technical scholarship and personal religious concern combine to give him insight which establishes him as an eminent leader among the present scholars in the field. No one can claim to be knowledgeable concerning the history of religions without careful reading of everything which comes from his pen.

Philip H. Ashby, Princeton University

Religion and the Free Society. By William Lee Miller, *et al.* Santa Barbara, California: The Fund for the Republic, 1958. 108 pp., single copies free. *Religion and the Schools.* By Robert Gordis, *et al.* Santa Barbara, California: The Fund for the Republic, 1959. 96 pp., single copies free. *The Churches and the Public.* By Robert Lekachman, *et al.* Santa Barbara, California: The Fund for the Republic, 1960. 70 pp., single copies free.

These three booklets are part of a larger series with the stated purpose of "clarifying fundamental questions concerning freedom and justice . . . [in] today's highly developed industrial society." The whole series is written by distinguished authorities such as Clark Kerr, A. A. Berle, Jr., Walter Millis, and others.

The three here considered, dealing with the relation of religion to American society, balance the views of well-known Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and representatives of the external secular outlook under each of the themes. All of the essays are scholarly treatments of the issues from the orientation of the respective traditions. This reviewer believes that the

series will fill a great need by placing side by side representative views of the major faith groups in this significant area of conflict. They provide a splendid basis for discussion and should help all to see the merits and dangers of their own positions in relation to the others.

These three booklets are very significant contributions to the sociology of religion in raising key issues concerning the function of religion in a pluralistic society and in demonstrating that basic presuppositions of major groups color both definitions and strategies of social participation.

The most interesting fact to this reviewer is the concurrence of all the participants in the recognition of religion as a basic ingredient in human motivation and in the maintenance of culture. The only conflict concerns the basis of transcendence and the means of exercising criticism and influence. This is clearly revealed in the differing attitudes toward secular education in the public schools. The Roman Catholics, because of the belief that religious commitment and the faith systems should infuse all learning and the integrating care of selfhood, arrive at the necessity of operating their own schools. The Jewish interpreter holds the same point of view, but, since Judaism represents a minority group, does not wish to subject Jewish children to an alien religious interpretation and is forced to depend on the home and part-time instruction of the religious school. Protestants who recognize culture as a religious conditioner of religious responsiveness and recognize the fact of religious pluralism must take the same position. Only Protestants (not here represented) who can separate the spiritual into its own tight compartment, as a formula of salvation rather than a full life orientation, can go along with the secularist without qualms in support of an education that disclaims interest in religious values. Will Herberg's dilemma, concerning how there can be integration in a pluralistic society unless all develop a more authoritative value system that colors and transcends the particularistic religious systems, becomes a key issue. Only a religion that adheres to a culture-transcending focus yet is flexible enough to relate itself to changing concrete issues offers the possibility of entering into creative social guidance.

Albert T. Rasmussen, Pacific School of Religion

Sociologist Abroad. By George Simpson. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959. 189 pp., \$2.75.

This book is based on Professor Simpson's Fulbright lectures at the University of Leiden in 1958-1959. The lectures were a review of "Issues in American Sociology" for a European academic audience. The book is

not a systematic treatise, nor an historical essay. Therefore it is difficult to find standards by which to judge its merits. There is a need for critical reflections on the state of American sociology. Ideally, they should be founded on a rigorous theoretical perspective or broad erudition in the history of the discipline, especially if they are at the same time a summary report on the state of the discipline.

Simpson is sharply critical of the assorted versions of behaviorism, positivism, operationalism. His remarks, while not systematically developed, are penetrating. His negative evaluation of various idols in contemporary sociology, such as quantification, scalograms, ideologically subservient public opinion research, sociological expertise for normally dubious purposes, the "freedom" from values, etc., is refreshing. Simpson's humanitarian responsibility and his unwillingness to be a sociological organization man deserve respect. However, his critique of the structural-functional school, while not pointless, is superficial. Durkheim is treated cavalierly, and Simpson's discussion of the concepts of the collective versus the individual does not contribute to clarification of the problem.

But what can one say to this: "Looking back from the vantage point of my own position today, I feel that McIver, Znaniecki, and Max Weber were not sufficiently well versed in advanced depth psychology . . . to understand the true meaning of the position which they took rather too glibly and speculatively" (p. 29)? As it turns out, Simpson's vantage point is a completely uncritical acceptance of psychoanalysis. Weber's theory of the subjective meaning of action—which indeed was not adequately developed—is radically misunderstood by Simpson. To him "understanding" human action should be a matter of psychoanalytic insight (the term remains unexplained) into the "hidden meanings" of behavior.

For Simpson the basis of sociology is the study of the unconscious motives and purposes of human beings. Consciousness is what "the unconscious permits it to be." Apart from uncritical acceptance of Kardiner, Ernst Jones, and a few others, Simpson does not indicate what the psychoanalytic "underpinnings of sociology" are. Remarks on prejudice being rooted in genital fear as well as oral and anal disturbances (p. 123), and delinquency as "a Western-cultural form of the primal murder of the father by the sons . . ." (p. 101) show the general absurdity of radical psychological reductionism in sociology. The particular inadequacy of unduly extended application of psychoanalysis is that it confounds the primary subject matter of sociology, the workaday world of human action, with the domain of dream and fantasy. No doubt both must be investigated, and their interrelation should be analyzed. But the former has a logic and a structure of its own which cannot be reduced to the latter.

In view of Simpson's psychoanalytic credo, it is not surprising that he accepts Ernst Jones's view of religion as "the dramatization on a cosmic plane of the emotions, fears, and longings which arose in the child's relation to his parents" (p. 148). In Simpson's own words: "Though an unnecessary illusion when analyzed as the fulfillment of infantile wishes, religion may be an illusion necessary in bringing man into some harmony with his ancestors and his family difficulties and his ultimate extinction. A real problem from the sociology of religion is what kind of system of illusion can be tolerated without interfering with the progress of science, art, and creativity" (p. 155). This is hardly an improvement on the functionalists in the sociology of religion.

Thomas Luckmann, Hobart College

Georg Simmel, 1858-1918: A Collection of Essays, with Translations and a Bibliography. Edited by Kurt H. Wolff. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1959. xv + 396 pp., \$7.50.

At first glance, this attractively printed symposium by sixteen contributors appears to be irrelevant to the sociology of religion. None of the eight translations from Simmel's works occupying about one third of the text nor of the thirteen "analyses" is on Simmel's sociology of religion. The index lists only three short references to religion and none on the church, Christianity, Judaism, or related topics. This partly reflects Simmel's concern with "subinstitutional" phenomena and relative lack of attention to religious organizations. However, it also results from poor indexing, for religion, God, the church, the soul, and related concepts crop up repeatedly.

Central to Simmel's sociology are his conception of society as interaction among individuals and his analysis of the forms of sociation. It is well to be reminded that the reciprocal relationships between persons involve mental attitudes, orientations, and thought patterns as well as overt activities.

The essays on Simmel truly complement one another; no seriously contradicting interpretations were noted. Repetition of ideas relevant to the concepts of form and content comes within different contexts and reflects Simmel's central themes. His contributions seem current, for they are relevant to structural-functional analysis, typological methodology, and symbolic interactionism.

Religious researchers will find little direct help in this book, but those who wish to develop a more adequate theoretical foundation for their work

will profit by careful reading. It is a fruitful source of ideas upon which to meditate, of implicit hypotheses for systematic development and testing, and of ideas for the construction of sociological models. The sociologist of religion would do well to consider Simmel's interpretations of the processes of religious schism and uniting (pp. 14-15), the function of ritual in secret societies (pp. 18, 100), the effects of group [church?] size upon individuality (pp. 15, 126), the importance of each man's decision as to the "substance of his essence" (p. 133), the believer's perspective when he expects the help of God (pp. 305-306), the theme of pantheism in the development of philosophy (pp. 306-309), the golden rule as being most fully realized in a money economy (p. 231), symbolic interaction as related to facial expressions and appearances which reflect the soul (pp. 276-281), and the veiling of reality by social generalization in groups such as churches (pp. 344-345).

Kurt Gassen's eighteen-page chronological bibliography of writings on Simmel and Wolff's six-page list of Simmel's books and of his writings available in English add to the utility of this volume as a reference work.

David O. Moberg, Bethel College

The Idea of a Social Science. By Peter Winch. New York: Humanities Press, 1958. 143 pp., \$2.50.

Peter Winch boldly attacks the tendency of modern social science to be a science. He finds it illegitimate to apply a model derived from natural science to the social world. Natural scientific procedures may enable us to predict the frequency of occurrence of words in a language but this is not the same as understanding that language. Weber's notion of "interpretive understanding" is acceptable as far as it goes. Weber was incorrect, however, in believing that "understanding" must be supplemented by "causal explanation" based on statistical manipulations.

Winch criticizes those who behave as if concepts can be abstracted from the social relationships in which they occur. The concepts of science arise in the social relationships among the scientists who use them. These concepts are woven in a theory which groups events in the natural world. These events, however, are independent of the theories scientists hold about them. This is not the case with a theory of social relationships. When a scientist tries to apply a theory to understand social relationships, he can get only a distorted view of those relationships. His view is based upon the relationships in which he is participating rather than upon those

of the individuals he is observing. The observed relationship involves another set of concepts which can only be discovered by participating in that relationship. Therefore, the relation of observation is illegitimate for sociology.

Religion, science, and social life each has its own rules of intelligibility. The rules of one mode of discourse cannot be applied to another. Winch criticizes Pareto for classifying religion as non-logical action. This is an improper application of the yardstick of scientific logic. It is like applying spatial concepts to virtue and arguing that, since virtue is not big, it must be small. Winch's position seems to follow from Cassirer's "symbolic forms" or from Buber's understanding through "meeting." His thesis is based, however, upon the work of Wittgenstein.

Winch has an unspoken social philosophical concern. Since concepts are social relationships, he fears that, if we study society observationally and instrumentally, we must perforce relate to one another in this empirical mode.

The author is, perhaps, too harsh on his sociological colleagues. While it is undoubtedly correct that abstract variables do not fully reflect social reality, it is imperious to suggest that interpretive understanding is the sole key. Certainly, the regularities in social relations observed by empirical sociologists suggest that they cannot be independent of those observed relations. Sociological generalizations may be a function of the relationships among the observers. These generalizations would, however, repeat themselves in monotonous uniformity for any object of observation were they solely a projection of the society of observers.

Samuel Z. Klausner, Columbia University

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